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1. Lively discussions take place among the Russian emigre circles in the US as to the possible future fate of Russia, in the event of another war. The majority of the leaders and democratic Russian intellectuals consider that war is inevitable and that nothing short of war can stop the Soviet drive to form a so-called Eurasia, which would be a sort of political and economic organism with Europe and Asia united under direct Soviet control.

The Soviet presence in the heart of Europe on the Baltic-Adriatic line must cause eventual Soviet progress as far as the Atlantic. This in turn will provoke a reaction from the western powers who will need to use military force to push the USSR back to its natural frontiers.

2. All the Russian groups foresee a Soviet defeat, in the event of another war, and this is why they are already making plans with an eye to Russia's future. The general tactics of the Russian politicians is to create a widespread belief that the Russian nation and the Soviet regime are two very different things, and that the responsibility for the present state of affairs rests with the Kremlin, which is not only the enemy of democracy, but also of the entire Russian nation.

3. Russia should be conserved as a democratic federation within the 1917 frontiers; its disintegration would be a misfortune, from the political and economic points of view, both for Europe and the world. According to some Russians, the end of the "Soviet Imperium" is inevitable, [redacted] is one of the prominent proponents of this idea. In numerous articles, lectures and conversations, [redacted] predicts the inevitable outbreak of war between the East and the West and the defeat of the USSR, which from a general Christian-Democratic point of view, he does not construe as a defeat for the Russian nation. On the contrary, he foresees a new and brighter phase in the history of Russia.

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4. The political and intellectual circles of the Russian emigres outwardly do not always agree with [redacted] political analysis and his historical vision, nevertheless most of them, in their hearts, believe that his predictions are right.

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- 2 -

25X1A

25X1A



5. Among other historical theses, [redacted] contends that, although the majority of the "Wielkorusy" (Great Russians) hate the Soviet regime, there is no unity in hatred among the Russian nations. The Russian minorities hate the Bolsheviks and would like to part from Russia, where Bolshevism was born. The "real Russian" does not understand it; he considers that all are equally responsible for the present state of affairs, Bolshevism being the result of common mistakes. Although the Bolshevik Party has absorbed all the revolutionary and bandit elements from different nations of the USSR, the so-called "Great Russians" formed the ideological core of the party. Bolshevism had no difficulty entrenching itself in Moscow and Leningrad. Central Russia had almost no civil war, while the distant minorities on the outskirts of Russia opposed it violently. There must be something in the historical past of "Great Russia," which proves to be particularly susceptible to Bolshevism, more so than the other parts of the Empire. Maybe the autocratic regime was the reason for it.

6. It is difficult to see what is happening behind the Iron Curtain of the totalitarian regime of lies. There are three factors, however, which indicate the growth of separatism in the USSR:

- (a) According to Russian refugees, the majority of the prisoners in concentration camps are from minority groups, mostly sent there as spies.
- (b) After the conclusion of the World War II, the Soviet Government abolished five republics for their alleged collaboration with the Germans. These republics are not large, but very significant. The Germans had no time to occupy the others. The Ukraine also deserved the same treatment, but it was difficult to abolish the Ukraine, without much publicity and shame. It is very well known that the Ukrainian military organizations fought on the German side, that a new Ukrainian Orthodox Church was formed, and a new government of the Ukraine was in the making.
- (c) The new emigration of the disaffected is another proof of the separatistic tendencies within the USSR. There are no Russian minorities among the various emigre groups; they form their own organizations and do not care to maintain contact with the rest. No nation hates the Soviets more than the Ukrainians, whom the Soviets still wrongly consider part of the USSR. The era of the last emigration, when the political leaders of all the USSR nations were commonly awaiting the advent of a revolutionary fight for "our and your freedom" has definitely passed away.

Prognostications as to the Disintegration of the USSR.

7. It is not very difficult to foresee that in the event of a Soviet defeat the Soviet regime will not only collapse, but the individual Soviet nations will start a revolution against Moscow. Economic and political reasons will then assume completely new aspects. To be a part of the USSR will mean, in the event of a Soviet defeat, a share in its responsibility and its tragic fate. On the other hand the victors will be faced with the same problem, with which they were confronted in Germany: how to guarantee a lasting peace and prevent another Soviet aggression.

8. Bolshevism will collapse, as did National Socialism, but who can say what form new Russian expansionism can assume. Even if the USSR had no separatistic tendencies at the present time, they would be artificially created. The partition of the USSR would have to be decided with the co-operation of the individual Soviet nations, based on a democratic idea of justice. The victors will be faced with the problem of how to establish order throughout the territories of eastern Europe. The first steps will be made easier by military occupation.

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- 8 -

25X1A



9. The possibility of war and of an eventual Soviet defeat will profoundly shake every Russian who has not yet severed the last link with his country and culture. Theoretically there still is a chance that the war can be avoided should the Bolshevik regime suddenly collapse in the USSR. But the chances are extremely small, and even this would not change the fate of the Soviet Empire, and would not stop the process of disintegration. If the Bolshevik regime, which has oppressed Russia for the last 30 years comes to a sudden end, all the deeply explosive revolutionary and separatistic tendencies of the Russian nations will at once be let loose. A period of chaos will begin, during which the Russian nation will judge its oppressors and try, as in 1917, to split away from the USSR. Constitutionally it is entitled to separate existence. Probably a civil war between the two halves of Russia will start. If Great Russia (Central Russia) wins the battle, its victory will be purely temporary. The structure of the present world does not allow empires, such as the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. If the world is to be governed by one authority (such as the future UN or League of Nations) - and this would be its only chance of survival - there cannot be any nation stronger than most of the others. The liquidation of the last ("private") Russian Empire would be a matter to be decided upon by the International Court of Justice and international law. The existence of such a Russian Empire would only mean that hopes for Russian independence are dwindling. If terror prevails in one half of the Empire, the other half cannot possibly be free. At the time of Russian Tsars the autocratic system was the price paid for expansion; today Fascism is the regime which can extend the lifetime of the Empire of slaves.

Finis Russia.

10. The end of Russia, or a new page in Russia's history? Of course the last is certain; Russia cannot disappear, as long as there is a Russian nation, which speak the language and occupies Russian territory. Central Russia, with the possible addition of White Russia and Siberia, will for a long time continue to be a large, well-populated, European nation. Russia will probably lose the Don basin's coal, the Baku oil, but France and Germany and many other nations never had such things. Russia will become poorer, but only potentially. On the other hand, the low standard of living maintained by the Communist regime will become a thing of the past. Its war potential will be smaller, but it will lose its meaning in a period of universal disarmament. Should general disarmament fail to materialize, then not only Russia, but the entire civilized world will come to an end. Russian literature used to be the conscience of the world, but the Russian state was regarded as a terrifying "phantom" to the world's freedom. The end of the Soviet Empire will also mean the liberation of Russian culture from the oppressive burden, which poisons its moral system.

11. When freed from the war and political tortures, the Russian nation will be able to revert to its own domestic problems and build a new social democracy. It will take several generations to educate the Russian nation; the emigre Russian intelligentsia should start getting ready for this historical task, and should forget about the dreams of the non-existing old Imperial days.

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12. In a discussion with [redacted] states that, although one should take into account the dangers which [redacted] points out, many different things can happen to Russia. Soviet disintegration is quite possible, but the evolution can also take the form of a democratic federated republic, in which all nations through economic necessity will live peacefully together. Russia also has a great attractive power and nations get assimilated. The former Ukrainians, Georgians, Turkese, etc, now Soviet citizens, have all adopted the Russian language. Soviet official statistics show a decrease in the number of Ukrainians. (This may have also been caused by the 1933 famine and mass deportations to concentration camps).

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- 4 -

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13. A similar stand against [redacted] was taken by [redacted]  
[redacted]

14. [redacted] emphasized one of the most important sides of the problem: the possibility of a future Russian nationalism or some specific form of Fascism, which he considers to be a great danger, and the possibility of renewed Russian expansion.

15. The democratization of Russia, according to western standards, will take many generations.

16. A mass of 200 million people in the hands of a non democratic regime will constitute a potential danger for the entire world; the more so if Russian technical knowledge improves, and Christian-Democratic culture disappears.

17. Russia, having been brought up and formed by Byzantine culture and on eastern despotism, finds it difficult to adopt certain western ideas and institutions. Catherine the Great and Peter the Great tried to reform, but they failed. There is no traditional class in Russia which would be able to accept western ideas and institutions. The transplantation to Russia of some western ideologies has produced different results; Marxism, for example, was turned into Bolshevism.

18. The future occupation of Russia cannot be avoided. It will have to be done by countries neighboring Russia and it may be of potential danger to these countries if they themselves are not fundamentally democratic, and have nationalistic tendencies. The occupation is unavoidable, because the Russian nation, which hates Bolshevism, has nevertheless been schooled by it. The Russians disaffected in Germany profess the idea of a democratic federated Russian republic with freedom and without Socialism. This can only be achieved through war. The future of Europe depends on the success of the idea of a democratic federation.

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